Country: Brazil Leader: Bolsonaro

Title of Speech: Speech at Porto Velho Date of Speech: August 31, 2018

Category: Campaign

Grader: Caio Emanuel Marques **Date of grading:** February 14, 2019

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.0

O A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a speech expresses a Manichaean worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

Populist Pluralist It conveys a Manichaean vision of the world, The discourse does not frame issues in that is, one that is moral (every issue has a moral terms or paint them in black-andstrong moral dimension) and dualistic white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to (everything is in one category or the other, focus on narrow, particular issues. The "right" or "wrong," "good" or "evil") The discourse will emphasize or at least not implication—or even the stated idea—is that eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable there can be nothing in between, no fencedifferences of opinion. sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose "We want to unite Brazil from North to South, East to West" language. "For that to happen, we need a State that does not intervene, one that charges less taxes, one that respects who wants to work" The moral significance of the items The discourse will probably not refer to any mentioned in the speech is heightened by reified notion of history or use any cosmic ascribing **cosmic proportions** to them, that proportions. References to the spatial and is, by claiming that they affect people temporal consequences of issues will be everywhere (possibly but not necessarily limited to the material reality rather than any across the world) and across time. mystical connections. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion No historical references mentioned in his of "history." At the same time, the speaker speech nor any cosmic proportion concept will justify the moral significance of his or her applied ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally

revered.

Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the "voluntad del pueblo"; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.

Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable "will." The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.

"We will kick gender ideology and Communism out of here"

The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the "oligarchy," but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.

The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.

"They [congressman] want to contribute to the growth of Brazil"

Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as "revolution" or "liberation" of the people from their "immiseration" or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.

The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of "differences" rather than "hegemony."

"The people cannot continue being poor because of the lack of good politicians" "The mission to save Brazil has to do with all of us"

"... a country where the family values are respected"

Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.

Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.

"We have everything to become a great nation, we just need to vote consciously to do so"

Overall Comments (just a few sentences): This is a short speech lacking many of the common elements of the other speeches he delivered, such as the lack of any mention of his competitors or blaming PT for having doomed the country. Nevertheless, the only populist element present here is the attack to the Communist ideology. The rest of the speech is basically a support to the remaining candidates of the state that belong to the same party as Bolsonaro does.